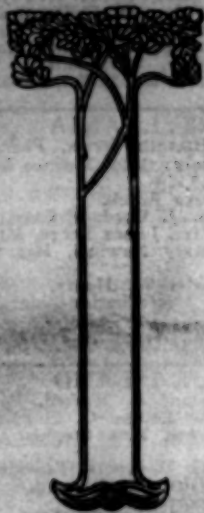


# The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 7  
No. 6



THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE  
NORMAL WOMAN

WHY WE ARE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

WOMEN WHO SEND THEIR MEN  
INTO BATTLE

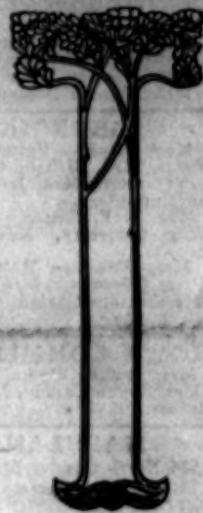
TWO KINDS OF OPINIONS FROM  
SUFFRAGE STATES

AN ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT ANTIS

FREEDOM FROM POLITICAL DUTIES

WHAT MOST WOMEN DO NOT WANT

OCTOBER  
1915



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## THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE NORMAL WOMAN

By PEVERIL MEIGS, JR.

THE idea of the one-day strike which suffrage leaders agitated was, on its face, an absurdity.

As I understand it, it was to include business women only, and not those employed in homes; bear in mind that hotels, apartment houses and hospitals are classed as homes.

A strike of business women would mean only temporary inconvenience; a strike in the homes, DEATH and SUFFERING to women, children, the sick and the old and infirm.

Why should any one assert that, just because women have drifted (I use the word advisedly) into the fields of activity formerly occupied by men, and by so doing have made it impossible for many men to marry and support families, they are now occupying their natural sphere?

I am most happily married; I have three boys and a girl, and I value my wife's opinion most highly, both because she is a level-headed, womanly woman and because her advice is not prejudiced by any influence except the desire to get the very best she can for her own and other children. She has no wish for the vote in political affairs, believing that she can view questions more clearly if entirely free from any political influence.

Incidentally, as so much is said about the dangers which threaten girls from unscrupulous men, a wide knowledge of the world has convinced me that boys run a far greater danger from unscrupulous women, single and married.

Personally I consider that the political activities of Miss Jane Addams have seriously injured her usefulness as a reformer. Moreover, I cannot understand the "peace at any price" attitude of so many suffragists, both men and women, and their apparent belief that men are lustful brutes who like to kill each other. Do they not realize that much of the world's fighting has been done by men so that their women might live safe from rapine and murder, because the women were physically unable to protect themselves?

What women should do is to solve the problems right at hand now. The most important of these is the question of domestic servants.

If the world is to exist, all people must be fed and clothed, houses and clothing must be kept clean, babies must be reared, etc. These are prime essentials, absolute necessities, and why, in Heaven's name, should so many girls and women apparently look down upon and sneer at these forms of honest work? If it is the fault of the conditions of employment, let the women change them. Personally I would far rather work for a good mother and her children, in clean, sanitary surroundings, than be the slave of a piece of machinery, as so many factory girls are.

I know many young mothers today who are literally wearing their lives away because they cannot get proper help. They are martyrs to the industrial system which entices our girls into factories and great stores, where they become unfitted for motherhood, instead of encouraging them to seek employment in private homes where they would learn the duties which would enable them to become useful and happy wives and mothers. It is pitiful to see the thousands of young men and women in every great city or industrial center, who should have happy homes and children of their own, doomed by a false social

system to an absolutely unnatural life of loneliness, and it is this condition which all women should strive to correct. The brothers of the girls who are too good to prepare well-cooked food, or clean house or take care of a baby, are often plumbers, called upon to correct revolting sanitary conditions, or miners in constant danger of death, or soldiers under strict discipline, which many women would be better for, or firemen in the stifling holds of steamers, or sailors, separated from all they love for months or years at a time.

When looking through the "Woman's Who's Who in America," I was struck by two points of special interest. First, a surprising number of the women listed are either unmarried, or, if married, have only one child. Second, a very large number do not give their birthdays.

Now the unmarried woman is, as a rule, unqualified to discuss matters relating to the questions which center about the home and the relations of the sexes. They show it by much of their senseless talk about the prevention of conception, etc. Let them set down as an axiom that, as Henry Drummond puts it,

"You can't get drown on Lac Champlain,  
So long as you stay on shore,"

and let it go at that.

A married woman with no children is frequently breaking one of nature's most natural and urgent laws. For the woman with only one child, I can only say that if she will read "On the Handicapping of the First-born," by Karl Pearson, she will be fully convinced that, unless there is some special reason why she should have no more children, she has not done her duty by society or by the race. Moreover, an only child is under a serious handicap in its relations with other outside children, and its mother always has the lurking dread of the utter void which would exist in her life if her child should be taken from her.

If the mother of say four or five children has not enough to keep her busy all her life, in nursing them, say on the average of six months each, for every doctor will tell you the children will have a better chance if they are nursed; superintending their food, clothing, companions, school interests, amusements, reading, social activities, etc., when they are little; sharing their griefs and sorrows when they are grown; following their interests in school, college and work; helping with her grandchildren; keeping in touch with her local charities, readings, lectures, church work, parents' and teachers' associations, etc.; planning out all things carefully with her husband, who should be her very best friend as well; then all I have to say is that no such thing as a busy normal life exists, and it is the ideal of the normal which we must always keep before us, and for which all else must be made secondary. If it is impossible to develop normal lives under the present store and factory system, CHANGE THE SYSTEM, NOT THE NORMAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

I believe that home-making should be a life-long study, that it requires a wide and sympathetic knowledge of all human experience and interests, and that it is well worth the effort, study, patience, sorrow and happiness which go with it, and which so many women are trying to avoid, either on account of sheer laziness, cowardice, which is simply lack of faith, or a degenerate dislike for such fundamental verities.

# The Woman's Protest

## AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

### OUR FAITH

ONE of the suffrage illusions regarding Anti-Suffragists is that we are all rapt admirers of men and men's methods. Far from it! We are fully aware that there is room for improvement. What we cannot believe is that anything can be gained by having woman abandon her own time-honored duties in order to reform the work of men—especially when the opportunity is so clearly given us to accomplish this result otherwise, if it could ever be entirely accomplished. Then, too, there is always the question in a modest woman's mind as to whether there may not be a mote in her own eye. This doubt would not prevent her using all the influence she has to help on the world, but it would perhaps be sufficient to make her hesitate before some of the startling assumptions commonly made by Suffragists that all the world needs is Votes for Women to make it an earthly paradise.

If power in the hands of women were certain to accomplish this result, there ought to be no dirty kitchens, no spoiled children and no unhappy homes. Suffragists answer that Votes for Women can automatically abolish all three. To which we reply, "How?" and furthermore add, "Where?"

So far, political activity for women has merely served to reduce the birth-rate, and to produce much agitation and friction without corresponding advantages. There are, we freely admit, one or two localities where suffrage has done little harm because it has not been coupled with political activity. Where women are absorbed by necessary home duties and the family organization exists in its primitive simplicity—in short, where feminism has not injected its poison—suffrage alone would be comparatively harmless, except that it would rob women of her influential position as a non-partisan advocate; furthermore, it is unnecessary and expensive. Disregarding these fundamental objections, it will scarcely be found helpful to throw suddenly huge numbers of inexperienced and sentimental women into the electorate in localities where complex conditions prevail, where social problems of serious import have to be met and faced.

Anti-Suffragists hold that women should have every necessary protection under changed modern conditions, but they realize, too,

that every step toward absolute economic equality with men tends to invalidate woman's claim for support as wife, mother and daughter, and they therefore deprecate sweeping reform legislation which, by a reaction which the Feminists have never seemed to envisage, may reduce women again to the same situation in which they were before the passage of the Married Woman's Property Act and other advantageous legislation passed by men. As there are more women married, or likely to be, than there are in industry, which is constantly thinning its ranks because of the fundamental appeal which motherhood and wifehood as a profession makes to all normal women, we believe that laws for women should be fashioned primarily with a view to their chosen profession and that education should follow these lines, while by no means denying or limiting their right or desire for mental development or wage-earning. We believe moreover that most of the agitation and unrest among women at the present time is due, not to a lack of political power, but to two very fundamental causes which are only very indirectly related to politics: First, the lack of inclination by man to assume marital responsibilities (in England the actual deficiency of men) and second, the conspicuous lack of domestic training which makes women less fit as wives and mothers, and thus causes the first condition.

The anti-suffrage remedy for present unfortunate conditions lies in education and training. When we have mothers who know how to develop the moral powers of boys and girls as they should be developed by discipline and example, we will hear less of men who won't support their families and women who can't keep their sinks clean because they lack a vote. At no time have we seriously accepted the Feminist demand for absolute economic equality, knowing full well that the Feminist conception of "equality" is only another way of saying feminine "privilege." We are satisfied that the privilege Feminists demand would represent power without responsibility, and is full of dangerous possibilities to the hard-earned position of modern woman. We are therefore in favor always of improved legislation for women and children, but not of Votes for Women. While we consider that the Woman Movement has accomplished many beneficial results, we do not wish to see all or any of these good results destroyed by mistaken fervor, irresponsible and emotional legislation and factional bitterness among women. The life force which has carried the Woman Movement thus far has now ceased to animate it for the simple reason that it has accomplished results—and without the vote. Thus we see the movement degenerating into vagaries and eccentricities while a new force full of a new vitality has arisen even among the most advanced of the very women who worked for a larger opportunity and who now stand for a certain restraint on woman's demands. This new movement is the Anti-Suffrage Movement.

J. T. W.

### LIGHT, NOT HEAT

MANY newspapers are commenting upon the obvious fact that what the public wants upon the suffrage question is light rather than heat. The true answer to charge and counter-charge is this: "Never mind me; answer my arguments."

This expresses the feeling of the Anti-Suffragists. The issue should be confined to the facts in the case. But some Suffragist leaders persist in devoting a large share of their efforts to discredit the Anti-Suffrage workers rather than to answer the Anti-Suffrage arguments.

The whole case of the Anti-Suffragist organizations rests upon giving light to the voters. Otherwise they would have no reason for existence. They were organized for that purpose, and are convinced that the more the men know about the question, the larger will be the majority rolled up against suffrage in the four States where the issue is at vote.

## WHY WE ARE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

By MRS. A. J. GEORGE

SOME are born Suffragists, some achieve suffrage and others have suffrage thrust upon them. After no inconsiderable experience, I have come to the conviction that the difference between the Pro- and Anti-Suffragist is largely temperamental. Some of us, now confirmed Antis, when young did eagerly frequent temple and court and heard great arguments on woman's rights, but the pull of temperament was too strong. We found the noise and clamor and strife and limelight unavailing for true accomplishment, and came to the compelling realization that woman's highest efficiency lay in the paths of quietness and peace—in those slow, patient, obscure, self-sacrificing processes which are the enduring and ennobling ones.

Those of us who are actively engaged in the fight against woman's suffrage are in politics to keep out of politics, on the principle that a stitch in time saves nine. We are in politics temporarily to keep out of it permanently. Why are we Anti-Suffragists? Because we believe woman's citizenship is as real as man's, but that to draft her energies into political activities would be a waste of power because a duplication of effort and that there would be no compensating gain to woman or the State for this economic loss. We are Anti-Suffragists because woman's function in society is not to be judged solely by her economic and sex relationship to men. Men and women are held together in a common relation to the social organism, and as society develops, the interests of its members become more and more harmonious, but not identical. Equality means development of variety, rather than of similarity of function. Woman's suffrage is a retrogressive step, since it would make the service of man and of woman to the State identical.

Why are we Anti-Suffragists? Because the suffrage movement started wrong, on a basis of sex antagonism. In a healthy state of society there can be no rivalry between men and women. The interests of the women of any group in the social order are represented in government by the men of that group; women are not a class, they are a sex, whose group interests under normal conditions divide precisely as do those of men. This agitation for woman's participation in government tends to develop an abnormal condition of mutual defiance, where there should be mutual trust, confidence and good-will, in order to promote the general welfare.

Why are we Anti-Suffragists? Because the ballot is an instrument of government devised by the State for its own protection, and the privilege of the ballot depends upon many considerations, one of which is the power to enforce the law. This power woman does not possess, and it is not desirable that she should possess it. In the last analysis the stability of government rests on man's right arm. Reason shows that the ballot in the hands of woman is a blank cartridge ballot, a ballot which lacks the power to enforce its decrees. Political power without political responsibility spells disaster to all.

We are Anti-Suffragists because real political equality must mean a fair field with favor to none, and that is the last thing in the world women want. Because of their lower physical and nervous vitality women must have special protection under the law. It would be a brutal and retrogressive view of woman's "rights" to insist that the mother of the race should forfeit her rights and exemptions under the law and in civil life in order to enter into competition with man. In a system of society without a distinction in the scramble for existence, woman would go to the wall. We are opposed to "the emancipation of woman" through the suffrage medium of "economic independence" and therefore we are Anti-Suffragists.

We are Anti-Suffragists, therefore, because active participa-

tion in politics would inevitably tend to divert our attention from duties for which nature intended us, and which we can perform better than men, and turn it toward duties, in the performance of which we must, by the very facts of our nature, suffer a hopeless handicap.

We are Anti-Suffragists because we believe in the fundamental principle of democracy, the consent of the governed, and are concerned at the attempt of an organized and aggressive minority of women to force their will upon the majority of women by arousing in men a mistaken sense of chivalry. We consent gladly to our present form of government, in which women have a tremendous share through their influence as non-partisans in forming public opinion. The Suffragists are in revolt against our form of government, and we feel that we should be unpatriotic and untrue to our ideals of democracy if we should fail to organize and work against them.

There are those who profess to regard our opposition as an inexplicable phenomenon. One of the questions Suffragists can never answer is this: Why is it that woman suffrage is the only woman's movement that has ever been met by the organized opposition of women? They tell us women are the slaves and chattels of men. Who ever heard of a slave fighting to remain in slavery? They tell us various classes of men were given the ballot before a majority of them demanded it. But did any one ever hear of an organization of men to oppose a movement to give the franchise to their class? Women have organized to oppose the suffrage movement because they see behind the demand for the ballot a menace to women and a menace to society.

Most women are Anti-Suffragists instinctively and naturally. And right there is something which ought to make men pause before voting to impose the ballot upon the majority of women against their will. Women arrive at conclusions very often by intuition, and in respect to certain matters their intuitions are safe guides.

In the instinctive, as well as in the organized, opposition to woman suffrage there is a danger signal which men should not ignore. When we analyze this instinctive opposition to woman suffrage, we find that it is based on a recognition that votes for women is merely the political aspect of feminism, that cult of feminism which looks forward to a social revolution based on the economic and social independence of the woman. From suffrage platforms we are told that "it is neither desirable nor necessary for women when they are mothers to leave their chosen money-earning work for any length of time." The herald of many a suffrage parade assures us that in the new order of which suffrage plays only a part, the institutions "most certainly to be touched and changed are the home and marriage itself." We are to have "the liberation of a sex"—whatever that means, and "an assertion of sex rights on the part of woman." Another leading apostle of suffrage-feminism declares that "the home is no more holy than a post-office." Women are "at last to break into the human race"—and always with the watchword "economic independence for all women!"

We are Anti-Suffragists because we are coming to see that on a basis of economic independence for woman rests all woman suffrage doctrine. Economic independence for married women—and this is a married woman's question—is impossible, so long as the self-governing group of the family is taken as the unit of the State. Expedients akin to those advocated by the political Socialists and Feminists must be devised if the social revolution which substitutes the individual for the family as the unit of society is to be accomplished. Is it any wonder that women see

behind the woman's ballot a menace to the family when these expedients are announced as a part of the doctrine of the "new suffrage" question.

As Anti-Suffragists we are proud and not resentful because of our place in life; because we believe that all this agitation for the ballot takes proper attention away from the only direction from which permanent relief can come, the elevation of individual character through physical, intellectual, moral and religious education, where woman's opportunities are supreme.

Woman suffrage is a part of the mania for uplift by legislation. The vote has no power to moralize society. We are distraught with appeals for votes for women, when our need is for a leader who shall invoke woman to a better performance of her higher obligations. The truly useful woman is a very unpretending sort of heroine. Her work is usually obscure, often dull, but it demands the kind of heroism which must be developed and cherished and honored if we are not to have an early dawning of the day prophesied by Macaulay, when either "civilization or liberty must perish." The longing for "freedom," "spiritual expansion" and a "loftier sphere" voiced by suffrage prophets usually reflects an hysterical and neurotic yearning for a more public sphere.

Why are we Anti-Suffragists? Because we have faith in the ability of our fathers, brothers, husbands and sons to carry on the responsibilities of government; because we believe it uneconomic for two people to do what one person can do; because we believe in the family as the unit of society; because we believe the attempt to interpret woman's service to the community in terms of political power is a false appraisal of her contribution to the general welfare, an appraisal which would not be possible except in an age of agnosticism and materialism. Finally, we are Anti-Suffragists because in our own Commonwealth of Massachusetts we find the best denial of the suffrage claims that woman needs the vote for her protection. In no place which the eye of heaven doth visit has the woman's right to make the most of herself, to develop her highest efficiency, been better safeguarded than in Massachusetts. Our State has been particularly appreciative in its recognition of the ability of the exceptional woman to serve the State in those paths of disinterested public service which lie outside of political activities.

As Anti-Suffragists intent on the highest efficiency of woman, and the best welfare of our State, we look with confidence to the men of Massachusetts to save our Commonwealth from the calamity of woman suffrage.

## "WOMEN WHO SEND THEIR MEN INTO BATTLE"

By LOUISE R. DE HAVEN

**I**F there is one woman there must be thousands of them in the United States who wish that the women who clamor for the franchise would prove that they know the value of what they ask and are ready to assume that responsibility with a definite knowledge of the service commensurate with the responsibility. As it is, they are asking us to give them the vote and then turn upon us and declare their pacifist propaganda with a vehemence which suggests that the franchise for women will insure the fulfilment of the ideal.

This, of course, appeals to every woman's heart, but the facts do not warrant a sentimental point of view, nor would it be well for the human race if it were possible for the feminine mind to dominate. To the women who protest, this talk of peace as a definite probability of civilization, seems to show such ignorance of human nature and the history of humanity that they hesitate to lend their influence to give to these clamorous ones the power to embarrass the men who carry the burden of government and who may be called upon at any moment to give their lives for them. These protesting women, not depreciating their own strength or ability to do men's work, if it becomes necessary, give their generous appreciation to the men who, when all is said and done, must be the leaders in politics, in the development of industries and commerce and in the protection of these interests, and they do not think it a square deal to place upon the overburdened shoulders of these men any further handicap.

During a lecture last winter the charming lecturer read the first page of the Women's Peace Party pamphlet, and the audience of women applauded enthusiastically. She did not read the second page. We wondered why! Was it because that audience would have understood the significance of the statements on that page? There egotism and ignorance joined hands and in one grand burst of idealism swept aside, as leaves before a summer's breeze, the problems which have burdened the centuries. The struggles of humanity were dissipated as puffs of smoke in a gale and the Women's Peace Party smiled in satisfaction and conscious pride as though saying, "See how easy it is? Just let

women take up these matters, and they will show men how to manage affairs."

We admire the enthusiasm with which these women give themselves to their cause, but we cannot admire their lack of understanding of human nature and the affairs of the world. More comprehension, more insight would have made them hesitate to assert their ability to stem the tide or even conceive it possible to change the laws which history has proven to be well-nigh immutable. They only prove that they either have never had any responsibility in dealing with human nature and life at first hand, or, if they have, they spent their time running away from these responsibilities and looking for "the easiest way." There are women who do understand and who are capable of staying right on their job so quietly that the multitude is scarcely aware how brave and true they are. There are women who send their men into the battle of life every day knowing full well the courage and strength that are required in the bloodless struggle for daily life, in which more than life may be lost, and they stand ready to help in that struggle as best they know how. They know there is no neutrality for them as long as they keep step with life. They know there is no peace so long as the human soul listens to the call of love or ambition or self-preservation, to say nothing of the more ugly traits of character which clash in human experience.

When women have faced life's problems—their own problems, not their neighbor's—when they have watched the development of character in their own families and tried to quell the unruly member, protect the weaker one from parasitism and greed, or even the brutal piracy of the stronger members, they know it can't be done by smiling sweetly and saying, "Don't, darling, that is very naughty and you mustn't do it." They know that they must speak sternly or even sharply, and that there must be force of some kind back of the remonstrance and that that force must inevitably be used, if necessary, to maintain justice and the rights of each and all. Woman's courage and wisdom will show itself in the use she makes of her strength. A virile woman has no use for a man or woman who says, "I don't think it is

nice to be strong. It might make me brutal and I might do something I'd be sorry for." She scorns that attitude of mind, knowing that it would be a psychological invitation to her own family and to all her neighbors to "come on." Neither love nor honor nor respect would be for her, and her influence for good, her ability to maintain for those about her the right to pursue happiness and well-being would be less than nothing. She has her ideals, but they are based upon facts which she observes with clear-seeing eyes, and she stands ready to fight for them, knowing very well that otherwise they are not worth entertaining. Let us salute the women who are too busy to tell the world they are marching right on and doing their level best to give service for service as part of the day's work, for these are

the women who inspire both men and women to great deeds of sacrifice and patriotism and upon whom we must all depend in the emergencies which may come to us.

Let the thousands of women who are educating their sons to be real men, alert for any task, and who themselves stand ready to aid men in any service for the public good, demand national security and the disciplining of citizens for national service and the protection of our citizens on land and sea in any part of this world. Let women be sure our citizens are so trained—NOT FOR WAR, but for that force behind our word which carries the voice of authority to every corner of the earth, and makes the flag and the citizens of the United States centers for respect and consideration.

## TWO KINDS OF OPINIONS FROM SUFFRAGE STATES

By GEORGE R. CONROY

**N**OW that the Governors and ex-Governors of double suffrage States have come and gone and left their testimony as to the value of double suffrage, it may be worth while to inquire whether they told the whole story and whether the testimony of such witnesses is all that appears upon its face.

Why should the Governor of a double suffrage State be expected to say anything about double suffrage except that it is a howling success? Doesn't he hold office because of it? Isn't his political existence dependent on it? Isn't it natural for him, the creature of double suffrage, to say in effect, "Why, of course, double suffrage is a good thing. Hasn't it put me in office? And doesn't it keep me there?"

These politicians came to Massachusetts presuming to tell the men and women of Massachusetts what they ought to do. But the men and women of Massachusetts have succeeded thus far in holding their State in the forefront of the enlightened, prosperous, progressive commonwealths of the Nation without any assistance from the radical and primitive West, and they are not now looking for leadership from the trailers in the march of progress.

William Spry, Governor of Utah, said the women of Utah "have always exerted an influence for safeguarding both home and State." Does Massachusetts require advice from Mormon Utah as to how to safeguard its homes? If there is a State in the Union where women lead a more abject life than they lead in Mormon Utah, it has escaped general attention. Are we to adopt woman suffrage so that we may make our homes like those of Mormon Utah?

Governor Dunne of Illinois, where women have partial suffrage, secured by Act of the Legislature and not by vote of the people, asks us to "look at the way women voted in Chicago last April" if we want to know whether women will use the ballot. He overlooked the fact that the women of Massachusetts have had partial suffrage for a great many years and that only a fraction over 2 per cent. of them have used it. But we have taken his advice and looked at Chicago, and we find that, although the April election was the most costly and exciting election in the city's history, less than 50 per cent. of the women eligible to register and vote actually did so, while of the men entitled to vote 85 per cent. attended to their duty.

The Governor, of course, forgot to mention that. He also forgot to mention an election that was held in Chicago in June, when women had the proud privilege of voting on a bond proposition which should have enlisted the interest and sympathy of their "mother hearts." Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Suffrage Association, appealed to the women to cast a big vote, but when the returns were all in only 8984 women

were found to have used the franchise. Less than 2 per cent. of the women voters of Chicago found time on election day to open their "mother hearts"!

Ex-Governor Adams of Colorado testified that woman suffrage had proved "a political safety valve" in the State! There is no denying that Colorado needs a political safety valve. It also needs a moral safety valve. But the kind of safety valve that makes it necessary for a State to abdicate its sovereignty and call for Federal troops twice in ten years to quell rebellion and protect life and property, that permits a divorce record that is a disgrace to the Nation, that results in conditions forcing even life-long suffragists to denounce the feminized electorate—such a safety valve is not the kind of safety valve Massachusetts needs or is likely to adopt.

Judge Lindsay, a loyal suffragist who has gotten himself disliked and abused by the ladies of the cult on account of his habit of telling certain truths about it, says Colorado is twenty years behind Massachusetts in spite of suffrage. Is it in order that we may blow off steam enough to fall back twenty years along the line of progress that the former Governor of Colorado wants us to adopt the Colorado "safety valve"?

The Rev. Martin Hart, Dean of the Denver Cathedral, writing in the February, 1915, edition of *The Chronicle*, a religious paper, says:

"Here in Denver we had last year 1265 divorces out of 2500 marriages. Every thirteenth person in the community suffered arrest; there were seventeen murders; seventy-five people were killed in the coal strike and no one brought to justice."

Where was the boasted "safety valve" when all this was happening, or when conditions were being made ripe for it?

When John Lawson, labor leader, was railroaded to prison for life, in order that the law might have its victim, suffrage newspapers and suffrage leaders in this State and elsewhere charged in effect that Governor Carlson and the Sheriff and the Legislature of Colorado, all elected by the votes of women and men, were serving, not the people, but the Rockefeller Coal Company!

Where was the "political safety valve" that made possible the election of public officials who would connive with a coal company to deprive a man of his liberty for life?

These things do not happen and cannot happen in male-suffrage Massachusetts, and the people of Massachusetts are not going to adopt a "safety valve" that will make them possible. The suffragists are welcome to all the consolation they can get from the testimony of those double suffrage politicians, but before they come here again asking us to copy their States they had better go out and give them a reputation that is at least respectable.

## AN ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT ANTI WORKERS

SOME time ago an office was opened in the city of Boston by a certain Mr. Dennis F. Reardon.

Mr. Reardon had a sign painter mark on the door of this office "Massachusetts Voters' Anti-Suffrage League," and then had a printer prepare some letter heads neatly typed with the same insignia.

The office did not appear to be doing very much to advance the cause for which it was ostensibly opened.

Almost no one ever came or went except the mysterious Mr. Reardon.

Yet Mr. Reardon was a very busy person.

He prepared letters signed by himself as treasurer soliciting contributions to assist in defraying the expenses of an outing to be held under the auspices of his own personal and private League. Experienced campaigners will recognize in this little scheme a highly honored political device.

But Mr. Reardon went further.

He had some friends in the Massachusetts Liquor League, notably Edward H. Pinkham, its secretary.

Mr. Reardon secured a letter of endorsement from Mr. Pinkham. Then, according to Mr. Pinkham's report to the newspapers, Mr. Reardon sent fac-simile copies of this letter of endorsement along with his own letter to all the liquor dealers in Massachusetts soliciting funds for Reardon's Own League.

Mr. Reardon, according to the newspapers, wrote: "The project (meaning the outing of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage League—Reardon's Own) has the endorsement of the Massachusetts Liquor League and a copy of their endorsement, signed by Edward H. Pinkham, is enclosed."

The Suffragists, learning (for the first time?) of Mr. Reardon's League and his novel plan for raising funds, immediately set to work to assure the world that "here is proof positive of the alliance between the Anti-Suffragists and the liquor interests about which we have done so much fruitless talking."

It was a fine "story."

It was "publicity."

On September 14 Miss Evelyn Sears, for the Antis, denied the charge and gave the names of the officials in the Anti organization as testimony. The next day the Suffragists gave out the Reardon circular, with its appended Pinkham "endorsement," and on September 17, A. H. Parker, for the Antis, denied support by the Liquor League, and advised the Suffragists, if they thought they had a case, to take it into court as a violation of the corrupt practices laws.

Miss Sears, in her statement to the press, declared: "The suffrage association charges that the Massachusetts Liquor League is 'working officially in the interest of the Anti-Suffrage Association.'"

"This is news to the Anti-Suffrage Association, and, so far as it is able to learn, it is news to all concerned except the officials of the Suffrage organization. And right here, it seems to us, is something that requires explanation. It is often dangerous to know too much. How do the Suffragists come to be so well informed regarding the alleged activities of the liquor interests? Have the liquor men confided in them? Or is there some gentleman posing as the representative of the liquor interests and the Anti-Suffragists who is, in reality, acting for the Suffragists in an attempt to discredit the Anti-Suffrage cause?"

"Such unworthy methods of attack are not unknown in politics; but we hope, for the sake of the women in the Suffrage organization, that their false allegation against the Anti-Suffrage Association is due to a misunderstanding, and not to a deliberate purpose to deceive."

On September 18th, Mr. Pinkham, secretary of the Massachusetts Liquor League, took occasion to deny that his organization had anything to do with Reardon's Own Anti-Suffrage League,

and accused Reardon of misusing the letter of endorsement, given to him as an individual, and of misrepresentation. This denial was made in a letter addressed to Mrs. Gertrude Holliday Leonard, chairman of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association. This letter stated further, "I am fully authorized to deny absolutely the statements appearing in the public press to the effect that this League, or any official of this League, is in any way identified with any movement bearing on the suffrage question." And further, "I beg to advise you, and we desire to have it widely and thoroughly understood, that the Massachusetts Liquor League has not taken, and will not take, any part in the suffrage campaign."

Following this, a statement by Mr. Frank Foxcroft was published in the Boston press, in which he declared: "The Suffrage Association manifesto alleges that the Massachusetts Liquor League is working officially in the interests of the Anti-Suffrage Association. I do not know anything about the Massachusetts Liquor League—if there is such an organization—nor its activities. It may be that there are some saloon-keepers in Massachusetts who retain their early impressions of the suffrage movement, in the days when the W. C. T. U. was active in it, and do not realize the change which has taken place in its ideals and its leadership. Such men may imagine that they have something to dread from suffrage and may act accordingly. I do not know about that. But the intimation which the Suffragists apparently mean to convey that there is some sort of an alliance between the Anti-Suffrage Association and the saloon interests is false and libelous. The official statement published last June by the treasurer of the Woman's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts and the treasurer of the men's committee of the Anti-Suffrage Association remains absolutely true. It was in these words: 'Not only have the liquor interests not contributed or offered to contribute or promised to contribute \$8,000,000 or \$1,000,000 or \$1, or any sum whatever to the anti-suffrage campaign in Massachusetts, but such contribution, or any contribution, if offered by the liquor interests, would not be accepted by the Anti-Suffragists of Massachusetts.'"

"For myself, as a member for many years of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society, as one of the founders of the No-License League, as one of the organizers of the Cambridge Law-Enforcement Association, and as the chairman for 15 years of the Citizens' No-License Committee of Cambridge, I may hope, I think, to be relieved of any suspicion of personal connivance with liquor interests, and I may add that it is my interest in temperance and other moral movements which leads me to oppose woman suffrage in Massachusetts and to hope for its defeat."

The present impression regarding this attempt to associate the liquor interests with the Anti-Suffrage organization is summarized in the following statement by George R. Conroy:

"The leaders of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association will have to do a lot of explaining before they will be able to convince the voters that they are not directly responsible for the recently exposed conspiracy to connect the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association and the Massachusetts Liquor League through the medium of a mushroom anti-suffrage league with a membership of one.

"Their plea will be, no doubt, that they were misled by one of their employees; but this person is still in their employ, and unless they repudiate him and his activities, no other inference is possible than that his work in connection with the mushroom 'anti-suffrage league' was done with their knowledge and approval and that they either do not dare to discharge him or need him for similar work in the future.

"The disgraceful episode of the alleged 'Anti-Suffrage League,' between which and the Suffrage Association headquarters there

was a convenient but fatal pipe-line, served to bring out once more the utter weakness of the suffrage cause and to emphasize the high standing of the men and women who are leading the work against suffrage and their absolute freedom from entangling alliances.

"Before the exposure of the mushroom anti-suffrage league, the Suffragists' leaders asked the Anti-Suffragists this question: 'Do you wish to defeat woman suffrage in Massachusetts with the active help of the Massachusetts Liquor League?' Replying on behalf of the Anti-Suffrage Association, Mr. A. H. Parker, of the Men's Committee, summed up the whole situation in these words:

"They ask us whether 'The Anti-Suffragists wish to defeat woman suffrage in Massachusetts with the active help of the Massachusetts Liquor League?' We reply that we not only wish to defeat woman suffrage, but expect to defeat it by a

vote of at least two to one, and that in spite of the Suffragists, the Socialists, the Feminists, the Massachusetts Liquor League or any other liquor organization. We have said many times before, but we say again, that we neither need nor ask, and would not accept if offered, any assistance from the liquor interests of this or any other state. We have only one purpose, and that is to protect our homes and our state from the menace of feminism and its political phase, votes for women.

"If the Suffragists know any way in which we can make our answer to their question stronger, we should be grateful for the information. Incidentally, let us remind them that it will require more than a mushroom anti-suffrage association of one, gotten up as part of a crude political scheme, to obscure the issue. The present issue is not liquor, but the spirit of unrest which leads a few women to demand the ballot as the next step in an imitation-of-man movement which bodes no good for the race."

## "THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM POLITICAL DUTIES"

**I**N A STATEMENT issued by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, as quoted in the *New York Times* of September 20th, she says that the Anti-Suffragists are trying to escape from the duty of voting. Mrs. Catt is quoted as saying:

"Anti-Suffragists are demanding the right of freedom from a duty. They acknowledge that voting is not a privilege, but a duty. That if it is conferred they must accept it as such, but they wish to be saved from their duty. Their posters in huge letters proclaim all over New York City this desire to escape the inconvenience of duty. They say 'woman's right is the right to freedom from political duties.'

"Who gave her this right? Women are members of the community, the society, the family into which they were born. How can they claim immunity from duty in any one of these positions and not in the other two?"

Her interpretation of our poster is wrong.

The franchise does not become a duty for women until imposed upon them by the votes of men. We Anti-Suffragists do not wish to escape what Mrs. Catt calls the "inconvenience of a duty," but what we consider the inexpediency of an unnecessary burden. The claim of our Anti-Suffrage poster is perfectly

justifiable. On account of our sex we have a right to freedom from the duties which should be performed by men. Our duties because of sex are to bear, rear and educate the youth of the Commonwealth; to preserve the high standard of public and private morality; to minister to the needs of the unwise and unfortunate; and to guard the institutions of church and home. Because of these multifold duties we claim exemption from the additional burden of the ballot which becomes a duty only when thrust upon us.

Anti-Suffragists cannot accept the Suffragist view that if women are enfranchised they are not obliged to vote, or that the duties connected with the ballot are limited to dropping a piece of paper in the ballot box. In the States where suffrage has been imposed upon women recently, the leaders in the Anti-Suffrage movement have been among the first women to register and vote.

This is because of the nature of our "duty toward the community, society and the family" into which we were born as women, but we claim immunity from an active part in Government and politics. In order to perform this duty in the highest and fullest sense for the good of the majority we do claim that woman has a right to freedom from political duties.

## ILL-TIMED SUFFRAGE AGITATION AT WASHINGTON

**S**UFFRAGISTS continue to agitate their demand, repudiated by Congress last year, for an amendment to the Federal Constitution enfranchising women.

There will be woman suffragist lobbyists in every corner of the capitol at Washington from December first on through what promises to be one of the most trying and critical periods in this nation's history.

This Congress must face the gravest problems presented since the days of the Civil War. All the patriotism, sanity, thought and judgment will be needed to solve these vexatious affairs of state.

It is not a time for futile agitation of a dead issue. The Suffragists would do well to cease the harassing movement they have planned, and not seek to add to an overburdened country the confusion and uncertainty which would result from the radical experiment they propose.

At a convention in San Francisco on Sept. 14, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, leader of the Congressional Union, said:

"The women voters of the twelve enfranchised States of our United States are here to form a body politic.

"The Western woman with the power of her ballot will give to her enslaved sister justice and freedom.

"The union of this sisterhood of women voters is the power

politically of the near future. Let us plead with you to form no alliance with any existing man's political party.

"For twenty centuries you have been led to believe your work was to patch up the evils germinated by man's so-called civilization. It is time for us women to have a civilization of our own.

"Let us create a new code of honor, a different standard of morals."

The *Rochester Chronicle* makes the following comment:

"In a recent address to women in San Francisco, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, a leader of one wing of the woman Suffragists of New York state, exhorted her hearers to avoid all entanglements with mere men and devote their energies to working for a new women-made civilization.

"It is probable that Mrs. Belmont's speech to her sisters of the Pacific coast was meant to apply solely to women in California and other states in which, through the votes of men, equal franchise has already been secured. Obviously, unless the erratic New York Suffragist has entirely lost her bearings, she did not wish her attitude to be taken seriously in her own home state, in which the vote for women is yet to be obtained. For, just as obviously, it is only by and with the consent of the men of the Empire State that women can be granted equal rights with men at the polls."

## WHAT MOST WOMEN DO NOT WANT

By MRS. A. J. GEORGE

THE reflection cast upon women by the small minority of their sex who, in their demand for the ballot as a key that is to unlock for them a "higher and nobler sphere," insist on comparing the condition of women without the ballot with that of the Southern negro before emancipation, is one with which Anti-Suffragists need not concern themselves except to call attention to it as an indication of the absurd lengths to which Suffragist reasoning leads.

If we thought the matter worth while, we might ask our suffrage friends to explain why it is that women, while free to go and come, live and breathe and have their being where they will, seem to have an instinctive aversion to living in the "emancipated" States of the West, but continue to congregate in the tyrant-ruled States of the East, where they are the "slaves and chattels of men."

Why is it that there are 53,000 more women of voting age than men of voting age in benighted Massachusetts, while in the "grand old State of Wyoming," where women have been "emancipated" for forty-six years, the sex is still conspicuous by its absence?

It is clear, however, that the negro argument is advanced by the Suffragists, not primarily to show the degradation of women under male government, but to establish if they can an analogy between the protest against negro emancipation and the protest against the enfranchisement of women. "The South," we are told, "believed that the majority of slaves did not want to be free," while the North believed they were entitled to freedom whether they wanted it or not, and so in furtherance of this belief forced emancipation upon the negro and upon the South.

Therefore—this is the essence of the Suffragist argument—it is the duty of men to enfranchise women even though all but a small minority of them protest against it.

The utter absurdity of this reasoning is, of course, apparent upon its face. In the case of the negro, the protest against emancipation came, not from the negro, but from his enslaver. In the case of the women, the protest against enfranchisement comes from the great mass of women themselves. To say that the negroes protested against emancipation in the sense that women are protesting against enfranchisement is an insult to women. In the first place, the negro slaves were not free to express themselves

as they pleased; and in the second place, they were not sufficiently enlightened to think about the matter at all in the rational way in which anti-suffrage women think about the ballot.

This protest of women against the ballot is the strongest proof that the whole suffrage movement is fictitious and based upon a fallacy. Women are not so lacking in intelligence as to be unable to see the difference between freedom and slavery, and when the great majority of them see in the ballot, not a key to better things, but a key that is to lock upon them the fetters of repugnant duties, and responsibilities they cannot meet, it must be accepted as a fact of vital significance in any rational consideration of the question of woman suffrage.

Can any reasonable man or woman deny that there is some impelling reason for the fact that woman suffrage is the only woman's movement that has ever been opposed by women organized for that purpose? It is also the only suffrage movement ever opposed by those it was supposed to benefit. They tell us that various classes of men were given the ballot before a majority of them demanded it. But did anyone ever hear of an organization of men formed for the purpose of fighting a movement to give the ballot to their class?

The great majority of women who have thought deeply enough about the question of enfranchising their sex see in it a menace to women and a menace to society, while the great majority of those who have not thought about it deeply are naturally opposed to it. Here is a danger-signal that men should not and will not ignore. If the majority of women demanded the ballot men would not withhold it from them, even though they might have misgivings as to its expediency. But when only a very small fraction of women demand the ballot, while the great majority do not want it, the granting of the demand would be an act of rank-est injustice.

One of the great troubles with the Suffragists is that they set themselves up as the representatives of their sex, when as a matter of fact they represent only a very inconsiderable part of their sex. It isn't what women want, but what a few women want and the great mass of women don't want about which they are talking all the time. Until they can convince men that they speak for the majority of women, they have no right to demand the ballot.

## COLORADO

UNDER the heading "Colorado Suffrage, as Depicted in New Jersey," the *Hudson* (N. J.) *Dispatch* says, editorially:

It would not be fair to judge the cause of suffrage by Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, State Senator from Colorado, unless suffrage specifically asks to be judged by that woman, who addressed an audience in Hoboken on Monday night. It is fair, however, to judge suffrage in Colorado by Mrs. Robinson, for Colorado, after due deliberation, elected her to the Senate. That State has not even got the lame excuse which New Jersey exercises in apology for United States Senator James Martine, to wit: that his election was an accident.

If Mrs. Robinson scored one single argument to change any Anti-Suffragist, we should be obliged to any person who attended that meeting to embody that reason in a communication to this newspaper. If Mrs. Robinson even scored one point that would pull a person of open mind, one "sitting on the fence," to the side of suffrage, we would like to hear it. If there was one argument, aside from a very impressive recital of an incident purported to have been enacted by women in connection with the Ludlow strike, that Hoboken suffrage is proud of, we would be glad to have its sponsors say so through the columns of the *Hudson Dispatch*.

On the contrary, Mrs. Robinson's assertion that all the full-sized, well-developed men are on the side of suffrage, or words to that effect, while the men opposed to suffrage are a set of "pin heads," is so abusive in its tone, so temperamental in its ridiculousness, and so inaccurate as to fact, that suffrage might do well to come out and be quite candid with the people of New Jersey in repudiating such talk.

There are good arguments for suffrage, but one of them, for instance, is not that in New Jersey the age of consent is sixteen, while in suffrage Colorado it is eighteen. There are good arguments for suffrage, but one of them, for instance, is not to compare women to lions and men to chickens, even to refute some fool Englishman's idiotic comparison.

If Colorado is ahead of New Jersey in constructive legislation, after twenty-one years of suffrage, Mrs. Robinson failed to give any comprehensive explanation of Colorado's achievements and of Colorado superiority.

### Politicians See Defeat of Suffrage Amendments

(From the New York Times, Sept. 16.)  
**S**YRACUSE, Sept. 15.—Predictions that the woman suffrage amendment will be defeated at the polls on November 2 are made without the slightest reservation by politicians representing both the Republican and Democratic parties, and pretty nearly every part of the State, who have come here to attend Governor's Day at the State Fair tomorrow.

According to all reports, neither the Republican nor the Democratic organizations up-State are doing anything to bring about the defeat of the woman suffrage amendment.

"There is no organization campaign against woman suffrage," said Speaker Sweet. "On the other hand, organizations advocating woman suffrage are active everywhere, and, of course, are making a special effort to reach the men who can aid them at the polls. A good many women in our small towns feel that giving women the ballot would tend to a general moral improvement. Undoubtedly their votes would tend in that direction, but they seem to overlook the fact that their votes would be more than offset by the votes of women in our big cities, which would be cast on the opposite side of every moral issue."

The Empire State Campaign Committee and the Woman's Political Union both are making efforts to reach the rural voters at the State fair. They have tents at the fair grounds, as have the Antis also. In both the Suffrage and the Anti camp there is intense activity.

(From the New York Sun, Sept. 20.)

Philadelphia, Sept. 18.—Indications are that the equal suffrage amendment to the Pennsylvania Constitution will be defeated at the polls in November. This view is based on sentiment sounded in every niche and corner of Pennsylvania. But many things may happen between now and election day. A careful survey of the situation shows that there is almost widespread apathy in regard to the suffrage question.

The net results of a canvass of the State are summarized as follows: For the amendment, 16 counties; against the amendment, 28; non-committal or doubtful, 23.

Influential political leaders in every county of the State, men who are in a position to know the feeling of the voters, were asked what, in their judgment, is the present status of affairs in regard to the suffrage issue. The results were the foregoing forecast from the sixty-seven counties of the State.

### Man-Enacted Legislation in Pennsylvania

**T**HE Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage issues the following effective reply to the Suffragists who decry man-enacted legislation, or contend that laws favorable to women can only be obtained by women's votes:

Pennsylvania laws protect women and children better than the laws of any double suffrage State.

Pennsylvania has the lowest per capita tax on property in the United States—therefore its people have more homes.

Pennsylvania is the only State in the Union out of debt.

Pennsylvania won the highest award this year at San Francisco for its health exhibit.

Pennsylvania has just been elected the banner pure food State by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Pennsylvania "has the best Mothers' Pension Act in the United States"—National Congress of Mothers.

Pennsylvania was the first Commonwealth in the world to grant married women separate property rights. It did this sixty-five years ago—yet the Suffragists are crowing now about getting the same thing in Idaho in 1915, after nineteen years of woman suffrage.

Philadelphia is "the city of homes."

Philadelphia "is the cleanest city in America"—Billy Sunday.

Philadelphia has the smallest proportion of saloons of any big city, less than two-thirds the number now running in San Francisco; less than one-third the number now running "wide open" on Sunday in Chicago.

An anti-suffrage manual, "The Case Against Woman Suffrage," has just been issued by the Massachusetts Men's Anti-Suffrage Committee. Some of the comments upon it are given below.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, says, "I think it a most remarkable production—quite the best thing that has ever been gotten together on the subject."

"I congratulate you upon the compilation of the best anti-suffrage manual yet printed," says J. S. Eichelberger of the campaign committee of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

"The very best thing of its kind that I have yet seen," is the verdict of the secretary of the Men's League of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

"A rather remarkable anti-suffrage document—in its extraordinary massing of material and its cleverly arranged typographical effects."—*Boston Herald editorial.*

### The Suffrage Army Thanks Its Friends

(From Sea Side Times, Sept. 16.)

**M**RS. CATT said in a recent issue of the *Woman Voter*: "In the great wet and dry campaigns, as in all others, the suffrage army has taken no sides." In an official statement issued by Mrs. Trout, president of the Illinois Woman Suffrage Association, she says: "It is our pleasure to acknowledge that some of our strongest supporters in the Legislature were so-called 'wets.' The State Association will endorse every legislator who voted for equal suffrage."

This quotation from a Southampton, L. I., newspaper is illuminating evidence of suffrage politics.

Certain other papers omitted Mrs. Trout's name and we are glad to print the following comment by one of them:

"I regret that through the omission by one of our compositors of a line of the text an error appears in our issue of Sept. 16 in which a remark intended to be attributed to Mrs. Trout, president of the Illinois Woman Suffrage Association, is stated as having been made by Mrs. Catt."

"Signed,

"FRANK A. BURLING,

"(Editor *Southampton Press.*)"

The Suffragists have issued a book of parodies upon Mother Goose. Suggestions are in order for an Anti-Suffrage Mother Goose. Our readers are invited to send in suitable verses. Among those already submitted are the following:

Little Miss Shallot

She wanted the ballot,  
Which she got in Chicago one day.

But when called on a jury

She flew in a fury,  
And would fain throw her ballot away.

Poor old Jack Horner

Sits in a corner  
Eating of table d'hote.

Oh, the world's getting queer,

And mere man is so mere,  
And the women are all going to vote!

My little old man and I fell out,

And I'll tell you what it was all about;  
Some women they made him a Suffragette man,  
And that was the way the discordance began.

## INTENSIVE WORK IN CAMPAIGN STATES

### MASSACHUSETTS

A LARGE number of Branch Committees were formed during September, and all over the State great interest is being aroused. The following quotations from an article in the *Boston Journal* of September 24 describe the plans of the State organization:

"Massachusetts Anti-Suffragists will campaign energetically throughout the entire State from now until election day. The committee in charge has arranged an automobile tour which will include rallies in every city of Massachusetts, and practically every town, starting at 8 o'clock next Monday from Boston. The final meeting of the campaign will be in Holyoke the night before the State election.

"Middlesex, Essex and Suffolk counties will be the scenes of the first efforts of the Antis. Daylight rallies will be held out of doors, but the evening rallies will be held in halls. All the speaking at the open-air rallies will be done by men, because the Antis do not approve of women speaking to crowds in the open.

"Col. John P. Irish, the most vigorous opponent of the suffrage propaganda in California, will be the principal speaker. He is thus characterized by a man who has known him for nearly fifty years:

"I regard him as the most effective man before an audience that I have ever seen. He began to canvass politically when he was eighteen years of age, and thus developed this gift from the beginning. He has never taken part in favor of any demagogic movement. Green-backism, silver, woman suffrage and every like agitation have found him their bitter and unrelenting opponent, whether it was in Iowa, California or the country at large. He was the mainstay, on the stump, of the Gold Democratic protest in 1896; he carried on the fight against suffrage in California almost alone, and has always insisted that, with the aid of one other good speaker, he would have defeated it in that State.

"He was the friend of Samuel P. Tilden, Grover Cleveland, Horatio Seymour, William McKinley and most of the public men of his own type within his time. Wherever he goes he will be a drawing card, especially where reason, wit, knowledge and eloquence count."

"Other speakers in the party will be former Representatives Charles L. Underhill of Somerville and John J. Douglass of East Boston and James M. Keys of Boston.

"The lady speakers with the party will be Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline, Mrs. Henry Preston White of Brookline, Miss Marjorie Dorman of New York, Miss Lucy

Price of New York and others from this State and other States."

From late August to the middle of October is the scene of dozens of county fairs in this State. At all these fairs this year the Anti-Suffragists have been represented by a booth or tent decorated with large placards bearing anti-suffrage propaganda, gay banners in anti-suffrage colors, etc. The booths have been manned by experienced workers sent from Boston headquarters aided in the towns where there are anti-suffrage branches by the members of these branches. Many thousands of leaflets have been distributed, and the response on the part of the public has been friendly and sympathetic beyond our highest hopes. Judging from the success of our work at these fairs, the sentiment of the State is overwhelmingly anti-suffrage. The Suffragists have occasionally made rude and insulting attacks upon our workers, but this has always reacted to their own injury and to the benefit of our side. The work at the fairs has been an important contribution to the campaign, and has been under the supervision of Margaret C. Robinson, President of the Public Interests League.

A large number of prominent anti-suffrage workers, including women from all parts of the State, took part in a Boston meeting, September 24, to select a "committee of 100," for the rose-selling campaign preceding Rose Day, October 6.

The anti-suffrage executive committee recently met and formulated plans to help make the campaign a success. It is expected that hundreds of thousands of roses will be sold before the "big" date.

### NEW JERSEY

SINCE the last number of THE PROTEST was issued, at a convention of the German Catholics in Newark, a strong resolution opposed to woman suffrage was adopted by their association.

On September 10th there was a largely attended debate held in the Ocean Grove Tabernacle between Hon. John A. Matthews and Mr. Winter Russell.

On Monday, September 13th, our Association was requested to send a speaker to a mass meeting in Montclair where all political parties were to be allowed to present their views. Our speaker, Miss Minnie Bronson, was allowed seven minutes and made to speak first, all the political parties speaking after her. The Prohibition, Progressive and Socialist speakers all made a plea for suffrage and the suffrage speaker as well, making four in all for suffrage, and the proponents speaking last.

In Elizabeth a meeting was held in the Sacred Heart Hall with Mrs. Frank J.

Goodwin and Miss Minnie Bronson speaking. It was attended by two hundred people, mostly men, who listened attentively to the speakers. Considering that it was the hottest night of the year, and two New York theaters were obliged to close on account of the heat, we feel encouraged by the interest shown, evidenced by their attendance in spite of the heat.

Miss Minnie Bronson made an address to the Republican Indian League Club in Newark. It was to have been a presentation of both sides, but Mrs. Minnie J. Reynolds failed to appear, so that it became an anti-suffrage meeting.

Under the auspices of the Hackensack Branch (Mrs. G. H. McFadden, President), during the week of September 16th, we had a tent at the Bergen County Fair at Hohokus and on Granger's Day Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin spoke to an attentive audience.

The Hackensack Branch of the New Jersey Association has also taken charge of the Firemen's Carnival at Bogota, Bergen County, for the week beginning September 22d.

Miss Marjorie Dorman has spoken for us before the New Jersey State Firemen's Association in Atlantic City.

Aside from many other meetings, we have taken charge of all fairs and grange work and have two large fairs in the next two weeks.

Trenton Fair, beginning September 27th, and the fair at Mt. Holly, October 5th.

Probably the most beautiful and successful entertainment given this summer on the Coast was that held on September 18th at "Shorelands," the beautiful summer home of Mrs. Henry Seligman, who loaned her house for the "Bridge, Dance and Tea" given under the auspices of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Those to whose untiring efforts was due the success of the occasion were Mrs. Henry Seligman and Mrs. Hamilton Fish Kean, Vice-Presidents of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and Mrs. Edward H. Cross, Chairman of the Entertainment Committee, and Mrs. Fritz Achelis, of Seabright, of the New York Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, all of whom worked unceasingly and whose efforts were crowned with success.

There was a large attendance of prominent society women from all parts of the State, and a number of women from other States, who are well known among the leaders who are opposed to woman suffrage.

The souvenirs for the players were pink geraniums set in black and white striped pots. Little kewpie dolls dressed in anti colors were bought by the guests as mementoes of one of the most enjoyable events this year.

This meeting brought to a close a series of brilliant anti-suffrage rallies that have been held along the Jersey shore during the summer season. Now the various "Anti" workers will devote their energies in their

separate communities to the furthering of the campaign which this Association has been waging.

There will be held a series of mass meetings, as well as smaller meetings, from now until the end of the campaign.

On Wednesday, September 29th, Miss Minnie Bronson and Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin will speak in Bernardsville under the auspices of Mrs. Charles M. Chapin.

Thursday, September 30th, there will be a mass meeting at the Play House at 8.15 o'clock in Westfield, with Miss Marjorie Dorman and Hon. John A. Matthews as speakers.

The same evening, in Howard Hall in Summit, Miss Minnie Bronson will speak at 8.15 o'clock.

On Monday, October 4th, Miss Minnie Bronson will present the anti-suffrage side before the Women's Club in Orange.

Tuesday, October 5th, Miss Minnie Bronson will speak in Alexander Hall, Princeton.

On Wednesday, October 6th, Miss Minnie Bronson and Hon. John A. Matthews will speak at a mass meeting in Glen Ridge.

On October 10th Miss Minnie Bronson speaks to the Jewish Society, Women's Sisterhood House, Newark.

Monday, October 11th, Miss Minnie Bronson presents the anti-suffrage side before the Women's Club ("President's Day") at 3.30 p. m., in Englewood.

On Tuesday, October 12th, the Trenton Anti-Suffrage Ball will take place in the Second Regiment Armory, at which Miss Minnie Bronson and Hon. John A. Matthews will speak, and aside from the dancing, those who wish may play cards in the gallery. This ball last year was so largely attended and such a great success that many have asked the Association to have one this fall.

Thursday, October 14th, Mrs. A. J. George, of Massachusetts, and Hon. John A. Matthews, of Newark, will speak at a mass meeting in Montclair.

On Friday, October 15th, a mammoth mass meeting will be held under the auspices of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in the Kreuger Auditorium, Newark, at 8.15 o'clock. The speakers will be Mrs. A. J. George, of Massachusetts; Miss Minnie Bronson and Hon. John A. Matthews.

Voss' First Regiment Band of Newark will furnish the music on that occasion.

Monday, October 18th, Miss Minnie Bronson will speak at a mass meeting in Boonton.

In various towns shops for the distribution of literature have been opened. Two most attractive shops have been opened recently, one by the Summit Branch and one by the Orange Branch. All reports are most encouraging as to the interest aroused and the number of men who come in to get literature and buttons or to congratulate the members upon the stand they have taken.

## NEW YORK

AS stated in the last report from New York State, the chief work of the past two months has been in the direction of county fairs. Beginning with the fair at Cortland, on August 15th, we have had booths or speakers at all the following places: Cuba, Wellsville, Olean, Greene, Plattsburg, Chatham, Poughkeepsie, Hamburg, Westport, Batavia, Hemlock, Caledonia, Brookfield, DeRuyter, Brockport, Rochester, Fonda, Lockport, Boonville, Canandaigua, Reeds' Corners, Naples, Albion, Mineola, Troy, Canton, Gouverneur, Schoharie, Cobleskill, Hornell, Riverhead, Ithaca, Warrensburg, Hudson Falls, Palmyra, White Plains, Trumansburg, Norwich, Oneonta, Elmira, Nassau and Binghamton.

In some instances where advance arrangements had not been made for fairs, in response to telegrams from fair committees, we were able to send speakers even if we did not have time to arrange for booths.

The State Fair at Syracuse came during the very hot week in September, and Mrs. Moore and her committee had arranged for speakers on four days, Mrs. Henry F. Burton, President of the Rochester Auxiliary; Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President of the New York State Association; Miss Lucy Price and Miss Margaret Stebbins of the Cazenovia Committee, being the speakers.

The Rochester Auxiliary had a booth at the Rochester Exhibition, which lasted for two weeks, and secured as their chief speaker on one of the important days Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline, Mass.

Thousands of pieces of literature have been distributed at these fairs and it would seem as if every man from one end of the State to the other must be wearing an anti-suffrage button, judging from the number that have been distributed.

The anti-suffrage booth at the Westchester County Fair the last week in September was under the special charge of Miss Frances Benson, our organizer in that county. A white tent was made to look like a little cottage having four windows with fresh curtains tied with pink ribbons, while a little latticed enclosure, covered with vines, represented a large pink sign at the entrance of the tent announced:

"HOME RULE *versus* POLITICAL INFLUENCE."

A number of chairs were provided where those who were weary with sightseeing at the fair could rest and listen to the strains of old-fashioned home melodies, or the Anti-Suffrage Rose Song, sung by some young girls, while printed slips handed to the visitors announces that the cottage tent stood for "Heaven, Home and Mother," the appellation bestowed upon the Anti-Suffragists by the President of the National Woman Suffrage Association at a Congressional

hearing in Washington a few years ago. The opening day of the fair there was the usual parade of automobiles, the cars with the anti-suffrage pennants drew great applause from the grand stand. Speakers on both sides of the question were heard each day, Friday being anti-suffrage day, when the "home cottage" was in charge of the members of the Junior Auxiliary of Westchester County.

The demand for speakers continues to be greater than the supply. We have practically given up speaking before women's organizations, devoting our time, as far as possible, to men's clubs of all kinds. During the past month speakers have been sent to several Republican as well as Tammany clubs; to tax-payers' association and boards of trade. We have also sent speakers to the Fifth Avenue Bus Drivers; the Pierce-Arrow Automobile Works and the Snow Steam Pump Works in Buffalo, and the works of the Central Electric Co. in Schenectady; Knights Templars, Knights of Columbus and Granges.

The article "What Is Feminism" has been sent to every clergyman in Greater New York and been widely circulated among clergymen in other large cities.

Thousands of pieces of literature leave the office every week and over 500 papers throughout the State receive the *Weekly News Bulletin*. Plate matter is also being sent out every week. Every Auxiliary Committee is carrying on special lines of work in their localities. Buffalo has opened headquarters at 614 Main Street, and Troy and several other places will also have headquarters during the month of October.

Albany will hold its Mass Meeting on the evening of October 11th, with Mrs. A. J. George, Mr. Gordon of Massachusetts and Colonel Irish of California as its speakers.

Brooklyn will have a Mass Meeting in the Academy of Music on Friday October 29th, with Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin, Miss Marjorie Dorman and Miss Alice Hill Chittenden as speakers.

The anti-suffrage Mass Meeting in New York will be held at Carnegie Hall on the evening of October 30th, the speakers for that occasion will be Hon. James M. Beck, former Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, Hon. John A. Matthews of New Jersey, and Miss Minnie Bronson.

The recent statement of Judge Edgar M. Cullen, ex-Chief Justice of the New York Court of Appeals, has aroused great interest all through the State, many people writing here to the office for copies of it, and a copy of it will be mailed to every lawyer in the State.

A new slogan has been adopted for the last weeks of the campaign, "Safety First. Vote NO on Woman Suffrage November 2d." This appears on the match folders which are being very widely distributed and also upon lantern slides which are being used in the moving-picture shows.

We are trying to impress upon every voter the fact that every vote counts and that no man should fail to register his opposition to woman suffrage in order to defeat it by the majority which we must roll up against it in this Empire State.

The Suffragists still refuse to meet us in debate. It looks very much as if they were afraid of the anti-suffrage arguments, which make an impression on all thoughtful men when they are well presented.

We find that the facts relative to the recent defeats of woman suffrage make an especial impression upon the men. They have been carried away with the idea that woman suffrage must come, but when they see the figures of the overwhelming defeats it has received in some of the big States during recent years it gives them courage to go out here in New York State on November 2d.

Another point which impresses them is the comparison of population figures in the woman suffrage and male suffrage States. They have been dazzled by the wide expanse of the suffrage map, and when they hear that in all that area there are 900,000 less people than in the Empire State alone, the whole question assumes a different aspect, and they realize that even if woman suffrage had been the unqualified success its advocates claim for it out in those Western States, with their sparse population, it would be a very different proposition here in New York with our thickly congested population in our great cities.

We are receiving splendid support from many of our members who come to the office every day for volunteer work, and there will be plenty for every woman to do between now and Election Day.

#### PENNSYLVANIA

WHEN Miss Marjorie Dorman, of the Wage Earners' Anti-Suffrage League, came to Pennsylvania for two weeks' work against suffrage among the labor unions and workingmen, she issued a challenge to debate the question with any representative of the Suffragists from the working-woman's viewpoint.

Although every effort was made to get some Suffragist to meet Miss Dorman in debate, it was found impossible to do so. Miss Lucy Lewis, chairman of the Speakers' bureau of the Woman Suffrage Party of Philadelphia, said: "The National Suffrage Association disapproves of debates with the Antis. I have attended many of them and find that we gain nothing by them."

The result of debates during the past year, nearly every one of which has been judged in favor of the negative side, explains clearly why the Suffragists feel that they gain nothing by debates, while the Antis are glad of every opportunity of put-

ting the facts on both sides squarely before the public.

During the past week two more Philadelphia victories have been added to our list, and more will probably have been won before these lines are printed. A debate at the J. Addison Henry Memorial Church, of this city, where two of the judges were said to be staunch Suffragists, was decided unanimously in favor of the Antis. At a debate before the Christian Endeavor Society of the Mt. Harmon Reformed Church of Germantown, there were but seven votes in the entire audience in favor of the suffrage side, making it almost an unanimous victory for the Antis.

Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt, vice-president of the P. A. O. W. S., who has recently returned from California, reports the working people of that State not at all interested in suffrage. "It is all very well for the rich ladies to amuse themselves with politics," said one, "but we working-women have no time for that sort of thing. We don't vote." At the recent mayoralty primaries in San Francisco there were 2,000 women election officers out of the 3,900 appointed, showing how women are taking men's places in public office to a far greater extent than they are voting, as but 66,000 women to 113,000 men were registered. Many of these women were compelled to work all night at this election, and the Commissioner says that it will be necessary again at the special election on October 26th and the general election on November 9th.

Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of New Jersey has spent the past few weeks in the Western end of the State, where she has become a very popular speaker before men's organizations. October 2d she begins her work in Philadelphia and vicinity. Miss Helen Markeson of Columbus, Ohio, who is arranging meetings and organizing in the Eastern counties, reports a growing interest in the question and a very friendly attitude toward the Antis in every place she has visited. Miss Laura M. Sloan, general secretary of the P. A. O. W. S., has sent in many encouraging reports from the county fairs where the Antis have had booths. The Suffragists are not nearly so well organized in fact, as they are on paper, and in many places Miss Sloan found that they were not only unorganized but unknown.

At an out-door fete on September 24, 25 and 26, under the auspices of the Richmond M. E. Church, Kensington, the Antis scored another great success, greater perhaps, because of the frequent use the Suffragists made of the word "lie." When a straw vote was taken at the end of the fete, the count showed 238 for suffrage and 878 against. This district has always been claimed by Suffragists as one of their strongholds.

A recent forecast by a newspaper strongly in favor of suffrage concedes that the Antis

have almost double the number of counties credited to the Suffragists, and this is a low estimate of the anti-suffrage strength, as the counties listed as "doubtful," which contain the largest cities in the State, we are sure of by a huge majority. We await November 2d with interest and confidence that the overwhelming majority of the Pennsylvania men will stand by their women and vote "No" on Amendment No. 1.

#### A Unique Event

A UNIQUE event in the New Jersey campaign occurred in Newton on the evening of October 27. On that occasion Miss Marjorie Dorman was scheduled to address an anti-suffrage meeting in the Opera House. The Suffragists, after refusing to debate the question, invited Mr. C. E. Ferber, former Mayor of Rahway, to hold a rival meeting in the Court House on the same night. At the invitation of Mr. Ferber and Miss Dunn, president of the Sussex County Suffragists, Miss Dorman consented to exchange platforms with Mr. Ferber at half-past nine, exchanging audiences.

The results were very different, we have no doubt, from what the Suffragists anticipated. Miss Dorman began her remarks to the gathering by stating that she was speaking under the assumption that all her hearers were opposed to her and that she was going to endeavor to make them understand more clearly the anti-suffrage viewpoint, even if it were a viewpoint which they could not accept. As the guest of the Suffragists, she asked them to give her a courteous hearing, without interruptions, and at the conclusion of her address she would expect to be questioned, attacked or otherwise subjected to their expressions of disapproval. She spoke for a full hour and not one person left the Court Room. When half through her talk, the hall began to fill, until there was "standing room only," and at the conclusion she was greeted by a round of applause. When she asked for questions, not a single one was forthcoming, and she was greeted by a number of cordial hand shakes, as the audience went thoughtfully away. The influx of standees had come from the anti-suffrage meeting, which left Mr. Ferber upon the platform shaking his fist at their departing backs, while shouting, "You miserable slaves, you!" His rancor was aroused by the statement from a man in his audience that the majority of the women of twenty-one years of age in Newton had signed the anti-suffrage blanks. Of the 1,576 voters of the township, 803 are already enrolled as Antis. It will be a long time, we imagine, before a Suffragist can be found who will again permit a presentation of the case against suffrage to any gathering assembled to further the votes for women movement.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

## CHOOSE, LADIES

An office is a place where women do what men want done.

A home is a place where men do what women want done.—*Life*, August 12, 1915.

The Schenectady, N. Y., *Star* is authority for the statement that former Senator Bailey, of Texas, will run for the U. S. Senate in 1918 on an anti-woman suffrage platform.

All of the pet arguments for woman's suffrage were smashed to smithereens by the speakers at the Anti-Suffrage rally at the Ocean Park Casino, Long Branch, Saturday night.

If every man and woman in New Jersey could have heard what was said there the vote would be almost unanimous against the innovation. It is to be hoped all the facts will be gotten before most voters before October 19th.—Long Branch *Record*.

Miss Emily Perry, Chairman of the Congressional Union, has published in the Washington *Herald* an article to show the superiority of Wyoming laws for women. Ex-President Taft, however, calls attention to the fact that in Wyoming there are 219 men to every 100 women. As women generally vote in a lesser proportion it is difficult to see how Miss Perry can draw the conclusion that Wyoming laws are due to women's votes, even if the same laws, and sometimes better ones, did not exist in non-suffrage States. No State with an equal number of men and women has ever passed a woman suffrage amendment.

The latest move of the Suffragists is to copy the campaign ideas and plans of those who are working against suffrage.

Some time ago the Anti-Suffrage organizations issued safety match folders to distribute to the voters as a reminder to "vote no on woman suffrage." These folders also bear the words "Safety First." Now the Suffragists have issued a similar match folder bearing the words "Suffrage First."

Suffragists have also adopted the lapel buttons used by the Anti-Suffragists. These, too, bear the words "Suffrage First." The Anti-Suffragists know that Suffragists put suffrage ahead of charitable or philanthropic work. Does the adoption of this new slogan mean that suffrage takes precedence over everything? Their recent activities and declarations indicate that they actually place "Suffrage First," and after that "Country," "Home" and "Family."

It is curious that, with all the far-fetched ideas the Suffragists bring forth for gaining recruits, they never appear to have thought of the most obvious solution. If the Suffragists would have large families and devote themselves to making good Feminists of them they would be certain to win. The only trouble would be that in teaching feminism to their children they would sow the seeds of shrinkage in the second generation. And so it goes. Apparently feminism is bound by its own nature to end in about two generations no matter how much recruited from without.

A woman reporter of the *New York Tribune's* staff has been investigating the status of suffrage in the State of New Jersey, which is the first of "the big four" to vote upon the question this Fall.

The substance of her discoveries is indicated by the headlines from the *Tribune* of August 20, which read: "Jersey men lack votes interest. Amendment no real issue for them, says Mayor Fagan's secretary."

At the woman suffrage hearing in Alabama a Suffragist rushed up to pin a yellow flower on one of the men present, which he refused, and she said, "I am here to furnish flowers, not brains." He laughed and said, "I can readily believe it." Then she wanted to kill him. Mrs. Hundley then came upon the scene of action with "All intellectual people are for suffrage." He replied, "Don't you think you've worked that speech a little overtime, Mrs. Hundley?" She said, "Of course, you think all the refined, charming, old-fashioned, retiring women are to be found in their homes and not lobbying at the polls," etc. "You express it very well, Mrs. Hundley."

Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, the Anti-Suffragist speaker, has been enthusiastically received by business men and religious organizations in Pennsylvania recently. At one of her meetings in Philadelphia, a Socialist street-speaker attempted to heckle and discredit her. The applause at her answer to his argument drowned his attempted to make a second speech, and his two feminine allies, who had brought buttons, literature, etc., which they could get no one in the meeting to accept, retired after satisfying their spite by calling Mrs. Oliphant a "parasite." An observer remarked: "If this is what woman suffrage means, I will fight it to the last ditch."

The Suffragists refuse to meet the Antis in formal debate—but they do try to break up our meetings and to distribute their literature in our halls.

(From Brooklyn Eagle.)

Cold Spring Harbor, L. I., Sept. 18.—Although Miss Millia Davenport, daughter of Professor Charles Davenport, the noted eugenicist, connected with the Carnegie Institute here, insisted that she was within her rights, her father yesterday compelled her to apologize for tearing down the anti-suffrage posters displayed on a tree in the yard of Mrs. Joseph Hewlett Willetts. Miss Davenport, who is a junior at Barnard, upholds suffrage as ardently as Mrs. Willetts opposes it, and the sight of the posters developed her militancy. She apologized only under paternal pressure.

The Suffragists constantly assert that good municipal government cannot be obtained without votes for women, as municipal government is merely housekeeping on a magnified scale. The answer to this is that Germany, where women have no vote in government, has excelled all countries in municipal housekeeping, the care of working people and the abolition of poverty. There is no evidence whatever to prove that women have concerned themselves more with these matters than men, or originated any ideas in suffrage States not already familiar to the man-governed countries of Europe.

At the Mineola (N. Y.) Fair recently a young man expressed his sympathy with the anti-suffrage cause, and will vote "No" on November 2d. But he declined to sign our card because he had already signed the suffrage card.

He said a young girl friend of his came to him saying that she must soon hand in a certain number of signed cards (suffrage) and would he please sign to help her out. "But," he said, "I shall vote No." "I don't care," she replied, "how you vote, if you will only help me make up my number to be signed." He signed to oblige her. He told of others, among his friends, who had similar experiences.

F. S.

(Suffolk Bulletin, September 14th)

Suffragette workers should not take too seriously the pledges made by certain officials to support the "cause." One prominent man in official life in the county who recently "signed up" when questioned regarding his action answered: "Well, you don't think for a minute I would vote that way; not much. I simply signed to get them out of my office." The official who frankly says "No, I won't" these days is the exception.—*Babylon Leader*.

Draw and quarter that villain! Boil him in oil!! Such perfidious perfidy!!!

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FOUNDED 1895

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(Address Carnegie Hall, January 26, 1914) *Everett P. Wheeler*  
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Suffrage Map of the United States.

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